

Message Text

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SUBJECT: ANGOLA

REFS: (A) STATE 193799 (NOTAL); (B) LISBON 4724; (C) STATE 197494

1. PROTOCOL SECTION OF FONMIN INFORMED US TODAY THAT EARLIEST COSTA GOMES CAN SEE ME WILL BE FRIDAY. AS REPORTED REF B FONMINISTER RUIVO HAD TOLD ME LAST NIGHT MY APPOINTMENT WOULD BE TODAY.

2. I READ MORE INTO THIS THAN SIMPLE SCHEDULING MIX-UP. I THINK RUIVO IS PUSHING FOR AN EARLY APPOINTMENT TO HAVE PRESIDENT RAISE ANGOLA. PARA 2 OF REF B GREATLY ABBREVIATES THE PITCH RUIVO MADE TO ME ON THIS SUBJECT. HE TALKED AT GREAT LENGTH ABOUT A PLAN WHICH WOULD INVOLVE SIGNIFICANT HIGH-LEVEL DIPLOMACY AMONG ALL INTERESTED PARTIES, INCLUDING "BIG POWERS." HE EVEN SAID ONE SCENARIO MIGHT BE FOR PORTUGAL TO CONVENE SOME KIND OF INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON ANGOLA. I SUSPECT THAT RUIVO, A COMMUNIST, OR CERTAINLY A PRO-COMMUNIST, WHO IS SAID TO BE THE MOST CAPABLE MEMBER OF THE PRESENT GOP (NOT MUCH OF A COMPLIMENT) HAS HIS OWN AGENDA. HE WOULD LIKE TO BE THE INDIVIDUAL WHO BRINGS EVERYBODY TOGETHER AND SUCCESSFULLY NEGOTIATES THE FINAL STEP IN THE DECOLONIZATION PROCESS WHERE OTHERS LIKE MELO ANTUNES HAVE FAILED. HE COULD THEN GO ON TO BE THE SPOKESMAN BETWEEN EUROPE AND THE THIRD WORLD, A SUBJECT HE ALSO DWELLED ON AT

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LENGTH LAST NIGHT. IN THE WHOLE PROCESS HE MIGHT BE ABLE TO

LEAVE MPLA IN A SUPERIOR POSITION IN ANGOLA.

3. RUIVO'S APPROACH, WHICH I SUSPECT HE HAS SOLD TO THE PRESIDENT, IS A DIFFICULT ONE TO REBUT. WHO CAN BE AGAINST INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION TO ACHIEVE PEACE AND DECOLONIZATION? RUIVO IS A HARD CHARGER AND PROTESTS THAT WE HAVE LITTLE INFLUENCE IN THAT AREA ARE UNLIKELY TO GET ME THROUGH MUCH FURTHER DISCUSSION. HUMANITARIAN AID WILL HELP AND I APPRECIATE DEPT'S PROMPT RESPONSE (REF C) BUT I EXPECT RUIVO WILL CONTINUE TO PRESS ME ON THE POLITICAL SIDE, AND HAS PROGRAMMED COSTA GOMES TO DO LIKEWISE.

4. UNLESS DEPARTMENT OBJECTS I PLAN TO RESPOND TO PRESIDENT ALONG FOLLOWING GENERAL LINES. USG IS OF COURSE INTERESTED IN SEEING A PEACEFUL SOLUTION IN ANGOLA. CONTINUING WARFARE IS IN NOBODY'S INTEREST. BUT BEFORE WE TAKE A POSITION WE REALLY NEED A BETTER DEFINITION OF WHAT GOP POLICY IS AND WHAT THEY EXPECT TO ACCOMPLISH. IT IS CLEAR THAT GOP HIGH COMMISSIONER ROSA COUTINHO FAVORED MPLA, WHICH HAS BEEN RECIPIENT OF SOVIET EQUIPMENT. FOLLOWING COUTINHO'S DEPARTURE OVERSEAS COMMISSIONER ALMEIDA SANTOS TOLD US GOP HAD ADOPTED POLICY OF NEUTRALITY VIS-A-VIS THE THREE FACTIONS. YET THAT NEUTRALITY DID NOT SEEM TO EXTEND TO THE NATIONAL RADIO STATION WHICH OPENLY FAVORED MPLA WHEN IT TOOK OVER LUANDA BY FORCE OF ARMS. EVEN TODAY GOP IS GENERALLY PERCEIVED AS PARTIAL TO MPLA.

5. WE ARE NOW FACED WITH A MILITARY FAIT ACCOMPLI WHICH IN THE GOP'S OWN VIEW HAS NULLIFIED THE ALVOR ACCORD. UNSPECIFIED REQUESTS THAT USG HELP OUT WITH POLITICAL SITUATION ARE INSUFFICIENT BASIS FOR US TO TAKE ACTION. NOR IS IT CLEAR WHAT ACTION IS EXPECTED. THE SOVIETS AND OTHERS HAVE BLATENTLY INTERFERED IN ANGOLA BY SUPPLYING EQUIPMENT AND ARMS; WE HAVE NOT. WE NEED TO KNOW HOW GOP WOULD INTEND TO RESTORE THE EQUILIBRIUM AND COOPERATION WHICH IS OBVIOUSLY NEEDED IF LASTING PEACE IS TO BE ACHIEVED IN ANGOLA. OUR GOAL IS NOT SIMPLY TO GET THROUGH NOVEMBER 11. OUR GOAL IS TO SEE THAT LONG TERM POLITICAL STABILITY EXISTS IN THE ENTIRE AREA. IF GOP CAN GIVE US MORE DETAILED AND SPECIFIC PLANS IN THIS CONNECTION WE WOULD BE GLAD TO CONSIDER THEM. ANY DIPLOMATIC CONFERENCE WOULD BE PREMATURE. IN MEANTIME WE ARE PREPARED TO MOVE AHEAD ON HUMAN-
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ITARIAN FRONT.
CARLUCCI

NOTE BY OC/T: DISSEMINATION COORDINATED WITH S/S-O, MR. TANNER
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